

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 PM-03 L-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10

MBFR-02 NEA-06 PRS-01 USIA-04 AEC-05 OMB-01 RSR-01

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P R 042042 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4842

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

USLOSACLANT NORVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 06444

LIMDIS

MOSCOW ALSO FOR KISSINGER PARTY; SHAPE FOR INTAF; VIENNA

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FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: INITIAL FRG REACTION TO " US APPROACH TO
MBFR" PAPER.

REF: A. USNATO 2129; B. USNATO 2127

SUMMARY: BASED ON FIRST CAREFUL READING, FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH TERMED US PAPER VERY COMPREHENSIVE AND FLEXIBLE. HE SAID CHANCELLOR HAD ENDORSED US (AND FONOFF) PREFERENCE FOR INITIAL MBFR REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES, ADDED THAT FRG EXPECTED MBFR AGREEMENT(S) WOULD BORROW FROM ALL THREE PROPOSED US MODELS AND SAID ACCOMPLISHMENT OF BALANCED PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TOUGH. ROTH COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON US PAPER'S TREATMENT OF CONSTRAINTS AND AREA AND NOTED US OPPOSITION TO FLA WAS TIED TO FLA EARLIER THAN REDUCTION AGREEMENT. HE SAID BONN SAW MBFR AS PART OF TRIPARTITE ALLIED POLITICAL/ MILITARY AGENDA, WHICH ALSO WOULD INCLUDE BASIC STRATEGIC QUESTIONS REFERRED TO IN APRIL 23 KISSINGER SPEECH AND IMPROVEMENT AND RATIONALIZATION OF ALLIED FORCES. ROTH INQUIRED CONCERNING CHARACTER OF US PROPOSAL TO DEFINE SOUND DEFENSE POLICY IN CONTEXT OF ALLIED MBFR CONSULTATIONS. ROTH SAID INITIAL EMPHASIS OF ALLIED WORK SHOULD BE ON SHORT BASIC MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER TO BE APPROVED BY MINISTERS AT COPENHAGEN. ROTH PREDICTED BUSY SUMMER AHEAD WITH CONCENTRATION ALSO ON DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICAL NEGOTIATION POSITIONS AND LIKELY SOVIET REACTIONS.
END SUMMARY.

1. DURING MAY 3 MEETING WITH EMBOFF, AMBASSADOR ROTH PROVIDED HIS INITIAL REACTION TO " US APPROACH TO MBFR" PAPER, WHICH HE SAID IS VERY FLEXIBLE AND IMPRESSIVELY COMPREHENSIVE. ROTH SAID THE US STATEMENT OF DESIRABLE OUTCOMES-- WHICH FRG WOULD ACCORD STRICT CONFIDENTIALITY-- PROVIDED A VERY GOOD BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICAL NEGOTIATION POSITIONS, WHICH ALSO MUST FACTOR IN LIKELY SOVIET REACTIONS. IN ROTH'S VIEW, THIS PROBABLY MEANT
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A " TOUGH ALLIED TIMETABLE" AHEAD, BUT ROTH SAID THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE US PAPER IS NOW BEFORE US AND WE CAN GET TO WORK.

2. ROTH SAID THE INITIAL ALLIED EFFORT SHOULD BE TO DEVELOP A SHORT BASIC MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER FOR APPROVAL BY MINISTERS JUNE 14-15 IN COPENHAGEN. HE ADDED THAT FRG ALREADY WORKING ON SUCH A PAPER, WHICH WOULD

INCLUDE REFERENCES TO MILITARY SECURITY CRITERIA, PHASED APPROACH, INITIAL REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES AND CONSTRAINTS. WITH MINISTERS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN JUNE IN DPC, NAC, EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND PERHAPS CSCE FORA, ROTH SAID HE THOUGHT NATO SHOULD PUSH TO PUT TOGETHER MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER BY THE END OF MAY.

3. STATIONED/ INDIGENOUS FORCES: NOTING CLEAR US WISH THAT INITIAL MBFR REDUCTIONS BE LIMITED TO STATIONED (US/ SOVIET) GROUND FORCES, ROTH SAID CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD BEFORE MAY 1-2 VISIT TO WASHINGTON EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH AT URGING OF FONMIN SCHEEL. ROTH SAID STATE SECRETARY FRANK ALREADY HAD VOICED APPROBATION OF STATEMENT IN US PAPER THAT " ALLIED REDUCTIONS SHOULD AT LEAST INITIALLY FOCUS ON STATIONED FORCES", SINCE THIS WOULD ACCORD FRG TIME TO RESOLVE ITS FORCE STRUCTURE PROBLEMS WITHOUT ANY SOVIET

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PR 042042 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4843

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
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LIMDIS

INTERFERENCE AND ALSO WOULD PROVIDE TIME FOR EUROGROUP

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TO CONTINUE EFFORTS AT RATIONALIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT
OF EUROPEAN ALLIED DEFENSE EFFORTS. IN THIS CONNECTION,
ROTH STRESSED BRITISH POSITION THAT ALL FORCES OF EC-9
/ STATES ARE DEPLOYED TO FRG AS "EUROPEAN FORCES" AND ARE
THUS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED STATIONED FORCES.

4. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, ROTH SAID FRG SUPPORTS EARLY
DISCUSSION OF STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS AND ACCOMPANYING
CONSTRAINTS PURSANT TO PRUDENT PHASED APPROACH, LEAVING
DOOR OPEN FOR SUBSEQUENT INDIGENOUS FORCE CUTS. WHILE
NOTING THAT US PAPER NEITHER CLEARLY EXCLUDES NOR FAVORS
INDIGENOUS REDUCTION IN A SUBSEQUENT MBFR PHASE, ROTH
SAID US APPROACH OF HOLDING OPEN THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD
APPEAR TO SATISFY BASIC FRG REQUIREMENTS ON THIS SCORE.
COMMENT: THIS LAST REMARK REPRESENTS A BIT OF A RETREAT
BY ROTH, WHO EARLIER HAD EMPHASIZED WISH TO USE PROSPECT
OF SECOND STAGE INDIGENOUS CUTS AS BAIT TO WIN SUPPORT
OF DEFMIN OFFICIALS AND BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES CRITICAL OF
PURELY STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN FIRST PHASE OF
MBFR. END COMMENT.

5. REDUCTIONS MODELS: ROTH SAID HE EXPECTED EVENTUAL
MBFR AGREEMENT WOULD DRAW TO SOME EXTENT FROM ALL THREE
PROPOSED US MODELS. ROTH SAID HE FULLY AGREED WITH
AMB RUMSFELD'S MAY 2 NAC STATEMENT (REF A) THAT MIXED
PACKAGE APPROACH ALONE COULD NOT ACCOMMODATE EXISTING
PRESSURES FOR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS AND ASPECTS OF THIS
MODEL COULD BE ADDED TO OTHER OPTIONS. FOR THIS REASON,
ROTH EXPECTS US WOULD FAVOR STARTING WITH MODEL TWO
(PERCENTAGE PARITY APPROACH), PERHAPS SUPPLEMENTED BY
MIXED PACKAGE ELEMENTS IN VIEW OF LIKELY SOVIET DEMANDS
TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WITH OPTION OF INDIGENOUS
CUTS LEFT OPEN FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE STAGE. ROTH RECALLED
LONG-STANDING GERMAN VIEW THAT REMOVAL OF ONE SOVIET

FIVE DIVISION TANK ARMY IN GDR IN RETURN FOR SOME
REDUCTIONS IN US TACNUC WARHEADS AND PERSHINGS WOULD BE
GOOD DEAL FOR WEST. (COMMENT: SUCH AN APPROACH ALSO
LIKELY TO FIT INTO REPORTED THINKING OF MINISTER EGON
BAHR, SEE BONN 5129 EXDIS.) IN ANY CASE, SAID ROTH,
US PAPER PROVIDED BASIS FOR SEARCHING ALLIED EXAMINATION
OF EXCHANGEABLE BUILDING BLOCKS. PRUDENCE SUGGESTS A
SLOW, CAREFUL APPROACH TO ENHANCE CALCULABILITY OF

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EVENTUAL OUTCOMES.

6. CONSTRAINTS: ROTH STRONGLY WELCOMED US POSITIONS
ON CONSTRAINTS AND, PARTICULARLY PRINCIPLE THAT " SUCH
CONSTRAINTS SHOULD ACCOMPANY ANY INITIAL REDUCTIONS AND
PRECEDE ANY INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS". HE ALSO
APPLAUDED US COMMITMENT TO " EFFORT TO ACHIEVE APPROPRIATE
PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS", NOTING THAT " PRE- REDUCTION
CONSTRAINTS" NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE IMPLEMENTED BEFORE
REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. ROTH ALSO STRONGLY ENDORSED
RATIONALE BEHIND CONSTRAINTS, AS STATED BY AMB RUMSFELD
IN FIFTH PRINCIPLE (REF A). FINALLY, RECALLING RUTH' S
RECENT VISIT TO PARIS (BONN 4409), ROTH NOTED THAT
GERMANS PREPARING SHORT PAPER ON CONSTRAINTS FOR
DISCUSSION DURING EARLY JUNE FRANCO- GERMAN STUDY GROUP
MEETING.

7. FORCE LIMITATION AGREEMENT: WHILE RECALLING THAT FRG
HAD PROPOSED FLA AS SEPARATE PRE- REDUCTION PHASE IN
GERMAN MAY 1971 PAPER, ROTH SAID BONN HAD CONSISTENTLY
EMPHASIZED THAT FIVE PHASES WERE INTERCHANGEABLE
ACCORDING TO TACTICAL ALLIED REQUIREMENTS. ROTH IS
THEREFORE NOT OVERLY DISCONCERTED BY NEGATIVE US
POSTURE CONCERNING FLA PRIOR REPEAT PRIOR TO REDUCTIONS;
HE PROFESSES TO BE SATISFIED FROM FIRST LOOK AT US
PAPER THAT WASHINGTON HAS OPEN MIND ON POSSIBLE VALUE
OF FLA ACCOMPANING OR SUBSEQUENT TO INITIAL REDUCTIONS
OF STATIONED FORCES. ROTH RECALLED, IN THIS CONNECTION,
GERMAN PREFERENCE FOR POSSIBLE LIMITED DURATION FLA
CONCERNING INDIGENOUS FORCES TO ACCOMPANY INITIAL MBFR
CUT OF STATIONED FORCES.

8. AREA: WITH BROAD SMILE, ROTH APPROVINGLY NOTED
STATEMENT IN US PAPER THAT AREA SHOULD BE TREATED" IN
CONTEXT OF REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN IN
PRIOR (MIT) NEGOTIATIONS".

9. TRIPARTITE ALLIED AGENDA: ROTH SAID HE PERCEIVED
TRIPARTITE ALLIED POLITICAL/ MILITARY AGENDA AH
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ACTION EUR-10

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P R 042042 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4844
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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LIMDIS

IN CONTINUING PARALLEL PROCESS, WITH RESULTS OF MBFR
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ANALYSES FEEDING BACK INTO STRATEGIC REVIEW AND BOTH IN
THEIR TURN INTER- REACTING WITH ALLIED EXAMINATION OF
NATO AND EUROGROUP DEFENSE EFFORTS.

10. IN SPEAKING OF SECOND TOPIC, ROTH WELCOMED CLEAR STATEMENT IN US PAPER, REITERATED BY AMB RUMSFELD, THAT " WE BELIEVE OUR NATO STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENSE REMAINS SOUND". HE ALSO WELCOMED THE STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF US TROOP COMMITMENT IN THE US PAPER, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE APRIL 23 SPEECHES BY SECRETARY ROGERS AND DR. KISSINGER. BUT ROTH WENT ON TO INQUIRE CONCERNING CHARACTER, TIMING AND RELATIONSHIP (IN US VIEWS) TO MBFR OF UPCOMING US PROPOSALS CONCERNING " SOUND DEFENSE POSTURE", WHICH US PAPER SAYS (AT PAGE 2) WILL BE PRESENTED SOON IN APPROPRIATE NATO FORUM.

11. RECALLING HIS EARLIER COMMENTS ON MBFR AND ALLIED DEFENSE DOCTRINE (BONN 4553 NOTAL), ROTH SAID HE SHARED VIEW EXPRESSED IN APRIL 23 KISSINGER SPEECH THAT " RADICALLY DIFFERENT STRATEGIC CONDITIONS" REQUIRED, PARALLEL TO MBFR AND NATO/ EUROGROUP DEFENSE DEBATES, CONTINUED REASSESSMENT OF STRATEGIC ISSUES TO ASSURE WHAT DR. KISSINGER TERMED " CREDIBLE, SUBSTANTIAL AND RATIONAL POSTURE OF DEFENSE". THIS REVIEW, PREMISED BY BASIC CONCEPT OF MC 14/3, SHOULD IN ROTH'S VIEW BE DIRECTED AT DETERMINING " HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH" AND WHAT MIX OF CONVENTIONAL/ TACTICAL/ STRATEGIC -- COMBAT/ SUPPORT -- AIR/ GROUND/ SEA FORCES IN BEST INTERESTS OF ALLIANCE. ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS COULD CONSIDERABLY ENHANCE FUND OF INTELLIGENCE WHICH WILL ACCOMPANY ALLIES INTO SUBSTANTIVE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD.

12. COMMENT: IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT ABOVE REPORT REPRESENTS ONLY INITIAL AND TENTATIVE REACTIONS TO US PAPER BY FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER, WHO IS MOST SENIOR AND INFLUENTIAL WORKING LEVEL OFFICIAL IN BONN ON MBFR AND DISARMAMENT ISSUES. BUT VIEWS REPORTED ABOVE APPEAR TO SQUARE WITH FRG INTERNAL POSITIONS DEVELOPED OVER LAST YEAR OR SO (SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, BONN 168.

THE GERMANS ARE LIKELY TO RAISE NUMEROUS

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QUESTIONS ON MBFR PAPER IN COMING MEETINGS WITH US AND OTHER ALLIED OFFICIALS; QUESTIONS RAISED BILATERALLY HERE WILL OF COURSE BE REPORTED TO WASHINGTON. AND FRG DOUBTLESS WILL RAISE SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING FIGURES USED IN US PAPER AND PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF BALANCED REDUCTIONS. FINALLY, GERMANS WILL PUSH HARD FOR INITIAL GUIDELINES PAPER TO BE APPROVED AT JUNE NATO MINISTERIAL.

13. IT IS OUR TENTATIVE IMPRESSION THAT ARRIVAL OF US PAPER HAS HAD SALUTORY INITIAL EFFECT. GERMANS

ARE DIGGING IN ON DETAILS AND LOOKING FORWARD TO UPCOMING
ALLIED DISCUSSIONS. BASED ON ROTH'S VIEWS REPORTED
ABOVE, FRG SHOULD BE ABLE, BY AND LARGE, TO COOPERATE
CLOSELY WITH US ON MOST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AHEAD, WHILE
JOINING BRITISH AND OTHER WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES IN
VIGOROUSLY DEFENDING POSITIONS OF PARTICULAR NATIONAL
OR EUROPEAN INTEREST.

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To: ANKARA
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BRUSSELS
COPENHAGEN
EUR
NATO BRUSSELS
SECSTATE WASHDC

THE HAGUE

WASHDC

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